/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
661 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuŝawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[237] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or granddaughter by deed of gift.

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554 551 614 [582] Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued within the clans and that economic differences accompany the bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans. These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

● 123 764 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 614 616 [345] It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry goes into the Baitemannanage° to find the spouse whom she has chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice. The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 614 551 [161] Most often these distinctions are established by proper names. It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage° was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuŝawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuŝawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

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634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'úga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 17 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 591 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tušawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tušawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tušawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MASCOI SKD
MATO GROSSO SP1

to round up cattle for the factory. In the brief time spent with them, no vestige of their own original culture could be discovered. Living in abject poverty under wall-less shelters made of strips of corrugated iron, bits of cloth, and grass, wearing filthy clothing which was hastily donned on our approach, they seemed to have retained nothing but their language. Some Chamacoco and Lenguas that were met presented the same degeneration. However, it is said that when they withdraw to the interior, which is done seasonally, they revert to their own ways.

Corumbá, which was reached in the middle of February, is a modern, comparatively busy port depending on commerce for its existence. The large boats from Buenos Aires or Montevideo leave their merchandise at Corumbá, where it is loaded on smaller wood-burning steamers, to be taken to S. Luis de Cáceres or to Cuyabá. It is also the real terminus of the railroad line running to the coast from Porto Esperança. | Plate II, 1. |

An air line has for some years been established between Corumbá and Cuyabá, reducing a journey of several weeks to a few hours.

While the expedition proceeded to Descavaldos in a small boat and three barges, I flew to Cuyabá, in order to present my credentials to the government and to arrange with the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios matters pertaining to my field work. The absence of Major Ramiro Noronha from Cuyabá did not make possible the achievement of my motive. However, since General Rondon, who had received me in Rio de Janeiro, had been good enough to send a telegram presenting me to the authorities at Cuyabá, the records of the Inspectoria were placed at my disposal. The presence of Professor Max Schmidt of Berlin at Cuyabá was a fortunate occurrence. So little is known about the interior of Matto Grosso that the opportunity of conversing with Professor Schmidt and of the Inspectoria field men was indeed a fortunate one. Later, on my meeting Major Ramiro Noronha, and on the reception of a telegram from General Rondon giving the desired permission to enter the Indian territory, Major Noronha, whom I found in Cuyabá on other visits, placed at my disposal and at the disposal of the expedition personal knowledge, especially of a geographical nature, which proved invaluable.

Perhaps a word ought to be said concerning the attitude of the Inspectoria in respect to foreign expeditions. On arrival at Cuyabá I discovered that it was forbidden to visit any of the aboriginal tribes

[Text continues on p. 103]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
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without special permission from the government. It developed that in recent years a number of foreign expeditions, under the guise of having scientific and humanitarian purposes, well supplied with credentials from pretentious scientific societies, membership in which can be had simply by subscribing to some publication, and often with political recommendations, have applied for entrance to the interior of Brazil. They have been received courteously and often every facility at the disposal of the government has been theirs. Subsequently have appeared sensational articles describing the terrible hardships encountered, and the scientific results have never been made public other than from the popular lecture platform, or have been published in some kind of adventure book. In many cases both the Brazilians and the aborigines have been maligned, and hardly ever is it mentioned that the Brazilian government did all in its power to help the expedition. This modern 'exploration racket' has justly aroused the ire especially of the Inspectoria de Proteção aos Indios, and the attempt is made to keep all foreigners out of the Indian country, unless it is proved without a doubt that the purpose is scientific. An expedition of the above kind which sensationally visited the country a few years ago was well remembered at Cuyabá, and its antics unquestionably caused us much delay. However, when the Inspectoria was convinced of our sincerity, it cooperated with great courtesy and sympathy.

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Archaeological Excavations at Descavaldos

Early in April, I returned to Descavaldos, and immediately began excavating the first archaeological site on the west bank of the Paraguay river. The water was so high at this time that traveling overland was impossible. Descavaldos was literally an island, and the project of sampling numerous archaeological sites further inland, the location of which I had learned from the natives, had to be abandoned. Intermittent heavy rains threatened to destroy what was uncovered, and the untrained workmen made progress slow at first.

As soon as the water subsided somewhat, another site was opened some five miles away to the north of the first. This site was covered with jungle which had to be cleared. In the place of rains, we had to contend with peccarys and wild cattle. The site differed strikingly from the first in the types of burials.

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462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[289] [171] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 128 In the following list I demonstrate the division of labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 562 123 How much the sexual life is related to the social position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is underneath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he [775]

[Text Continued on Page 28]

/143 cont./

833 562 123 775 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day: "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down one beside the other, because one day they will die and then they are reunited."

864 115 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 171 From Naliki, old Tereno chief, I received the following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayaki, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

/148 cont./

578 411 [123] embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women [562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 578 521 152 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy, but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip. Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 178 593 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me: "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 114 797 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow."

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity.

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

priesthood seems to lie largely in the ability to throw themselves at will into a savage ecstacy. 755

When a Bororó is ill, a priest is called to determine whether he will recover or die. On entering the hut and looking at his sick tribesman and concluding that he will probably die or should die, he will count his fingers, and each time he touches one finger will repeat, "Meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, bi," meaning that the sick man will see five suns, five days, and die, or he may say, "Nadua, nadua, nadua," etc., "bi," meaning sleep, sleep, etc., five days, and die. If at the end of this time he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the priest, will suddenly appear in the hut, sit astride his stomach, and strangle him to death, for the reputation of the priest must be maintained. The priests are probably responsible for not a few deaths. They are the bane of life in the tribe. They must nurture the delusion that they can communicate with and have influence in the other world and power to avert or cause evils and calamities. They are therefore on the alert to take advantage of any propitious occasion to prey upon the superstitious fears of their fellow-tribesmen. They are freely supplied with food by their tribesmen in order to retain their good will.

The Bororó seem to have no idea of God as the Christian understands Him. They consider the sun as the fountain head of majesty and power and even of beneficence, and as the abode of the great priests who have passed to the spirit world and fear him. Bope means spirit or disembodied soul, but they seem to have no idea of a good spirit. The bope, who are evil spirits, must therefore not be offended though they must be driven away. To drive the spirits off, they use a bull-roarer, a peculiar instrument made of a slab of wood about half an inch thick, shaped something like a fish, and of varying size, hung by a long cord from the end of a stick like a fishing rod, and swung round and round through the air. As it swings and rapidly revolves, it sends forth loud sounds to a surprising distance, pitched from a sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek, the wail rising and descending the scale according to the rapidity of the swing or the size of the instrument. To hear several of these roarers at once certainly produces most unusual sensations, particularly when operated, as we heard them, during a tropical storm amid the play of the lightning, the crash and roar of thunder, the falling floods, and dismal gloom. No female is allowed to see this instrument under pain of death. New ones are made as occasion demands, and they are burned immediately after their need has passed. We entered the baehytu as some of these roarers were 776 755 778 778 123

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778 123 being made for the funeral prelude. There was deep silence, and the word bope was whispered low and mysteriously. Certain warning calls are given some hours in advance of the time for bringing the roarers into use, and, hearing these warnings, the females enter their huts, close the openings, and hide their heads. The roarers are manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush. We had difficulty in securing examples of these instruments. They were brought to us at night securely wrapped and amid the greatest secrecy, every precaution being taken to make sure that we would keep them where there would be no possibility of a female seeing them. We also had much difficulty in obtaining the bone flute which is played only over the bones of their dead. A captain said to me, "That is a very bad instrument; you must not take it. If you do you will never return."

481 226 The Bororó are expert swimmers and are fishermen of the highest order. One mode of fishing is to swim out into the river, three or four miles above the village, with a net called buke, like a great bag, its mouth secured to two parallel rods nine to twelve feet long, bound together at their ends. When one or more fish are seen, the mouth of the sack is opened by springing the rods apart, and with wonderful dexterity the fish are bagged and the mouth of the net quickly closed by allowing the rods to spring together. The fisherman then plays the game, especially if it be large; gradually rolls the net over the rods till the fish cannot move, brings it to the surface and kills it with a club, which he trails by a cord from his neck. The fish is now taken from the net, strung on a cord, and floated along with the club. Sometimes two or more fish of twelve or fifteen pounds will be taken at one catch, or maybe one weighing as much as the man himself will be bagged in this way. A Bororó will remain in the water an hour or two continuously, and return ashore with six or eight large fish. They have learned to turn their bodily strength to the greatest account while in the water.

226 Another method of fishing is with a bone harpoon, to which is secured a long cord and a short detachable bamboo staff. With this the fisherman enters the water, and, finding a large fish in the shadow of a rock, following it with great expertness if it moves, he plunges the harpoon into it even at a depth of fifteen or twenty feet, while the staff detaches itself and remains in his hand with the end of the cord secured to it. The fisherman now returns to shore and plays the fish until he lands it.

Another method, when fish are scarce, is for one gang of men to enter the water with their sack nets, three or four miles above the

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evening anthem, which will be described in future pages. We were at our camp at the time, a quarter of a mile distant from the savage chorus. It was indeed wild music, and an appropriate production of the wild ones and the wilderness. It was hard to believe that this fusillade of uncouth, alarming sounds issued from human throats. This savage music resembled, somewhat, the remarkable and uncanny sounds produced by coyotes when heard at night from a distance. 533

Doubtless these nude, unclean savages would appear extremely repulsive and unhuman to most civilized people, yet I could but regard them as simple, overgrown, neglected children; and finding myself again among such rude, needy beings, I experienced a pleasure and satisfaction which I cannot describe, and inwardly thanked God, Who, in His gracious providence, had led me again to their haunts after a long detention among a more advanced race. Could I be among them once more, my cup of joy would be full. 114

Two naked Bororó accompanied us as helpers during the remainder of our journey to one of the chief villages of the tribe. The world about us became more and more wild, rugged and inhospitable as we advanced, and the difficulties and dangers of travel increased. Moreover, the myriads of the insect world seemed to resent our encroachment into their domains, and fell upon us with ever-increasing numbers and ferocity; while the elements, too, appeared to join forces with the rest of Nature, for storms occurred, not only daily, but several times during twenty-four hours. One night, we found ourselves encamped upon the "private grounds" of a colony of destructive foraging ants, which set to work promptly to cut us to pieces; and when we halted at noon for breakfast, some days, we were set upon by hordes of a stupid, sluggish, stingless bee, called "father of honey" by the Brazilians, but known to science as the *Melipona fasculata*, of which there are more than fifty varieties in Brazil. They were attracted to us by the perspiration of ourselves and our beasts, and also by the odor of our food. They did not attack us in a single swarm, but came to us individually and gradually, until quart [123] 136 [132]

The savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee. She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Chapter XXXII.

LIFE AMONG THE BORORÓ.—EYED CONSTANTLY BY A HORDE OF NUDE SAVAGES.—ASTONISHING MAKE-UPS.—PRIMITIVE HOUSEKEEPING AND SANITATION.—HORTICULTURE.—FOODS.—VEGETABLE COWS.—A WONDERFUL PALM.

After nearly two months of horseback riding and camping, we arrived at the confluence of the river Pogúbu, or Ponte de Pedra, and the Rio Vermelho, which is about forty miles north of the junction of the former river with the São Laurenço. Here, we found a large Bororó village, called the Tá Dáre Máno Páro—potato bank—where we remained several weeks, camping in a stake-walled, palm-branch roofed hut that had been erected a quarter of a mile from the Indian village by my companion. We had to cross the river Pogúbu, which we did in a small, dugout canoe made by Senhor Antonio, and swam our horses over. It is about two hundred yards wide at this point, deep, and has a strong current. A heavy rain storm broke just as we were within a few hundred yards of our destination, so we rushed our entire cavalcade right into the big, open hut.

When our arrival became known at the primitive metropolis, and it was known instantly, our hut began to fill with our nude and painted fellow beings of all ages and both sexes, who came to observe us and to examine all the marvelous things that we had brought from our wonderful, and to them, enchanted world. They flocked in upon us regularly at dawn

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and distortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trading, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

123 articles from us without offering us anything in exchange.
431 One would say, "*Bororó*, headache—handkerchief, red"—Meaning, my head aches; give me a red handkerchief to tie around it. Or, "*Boé* sick—tobacco,"—I am sick. Give me a piece of tobacco to make me well. Or, again, "*Boé* pursue tapir—catch him not. Give tobacco." At other times, they sought to obtain things on credit, saying, "*Bororó*, bring"—I will bring you something. But they usually forgot "to bring." Sometimes they tried a little flattery. One day a chief man came to me saying: "Captain"—myself—"good—Captain very good. Bororó cry when Captain go away. Bororó ask Captain not go." But this was largely to pave the way to ask for something. When I had to refuse them and they seemed displeased, I said to them: "*Bororó*, good; *Bororó*, very good. Captain, bad—very bad." They always hastened to say in reply to this, "No, no; Captain, good—very good."

157 When fish became scarce and a hunting expedition had
261 not resulted successfully, and they were, consequently, without food, they came to us acting as if they longed to become our slaves forever. After much self-abnegation, they would say, timidly, "*Boé tapira*,"—I like beef. *Tapira* is their word for cattle, cow, bullock or beef. But when they made a good haul of fish, their demeanor underwent an entire change, and seeming unable to recognize any one, they hastened to their huts without looking to the right or to the left. If spoken to, they feigned deafness. They do not wish many friends at such times as this as they would have to divide their catch with them. This is much like the civilized man, who, having acquired a fortune, is unable, longer, to recognize his less favored friends and relatives.

764 A death occurred in the village the day after our arrival, and as custom among these people forbids that any member of the family of the deceased should leave the village to fish, hunt, or to forage, until all the obsequies, which continue many days, are over, they must trust to the generosity of their neighbors for food. Consequently, the father of the bereaved

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family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 289 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

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756 that they have communications with and influence in the spirit world, and know what is occurring there; and have power to cause and avert evils and calamities. Hence, they are ever on the alert to seize upon every propituous occasion, and even to invent occasions to make merchandise of the superstitious fears of their fellow tribesmen for their own profit and aggrandizement.

800 As regards the ordinary civilized man, knowledge forces the mysterious, the unknown, the infinite, back from his immediate presence, compelling it to remain at a distance, thus enabling him to pass his days more or less unmindful of its existence. But to the primitive man, with his limited knowledge of the processes of Nature, the world about him is pregnant with mystery; it presses close upon him on all sides and he cannot be indifferent to it. The mysterious—that which is beyond his knowledge—the infinite—literally stares him in the face at every turn, and he is unable to fathom it. Ignorant of causes, he views with superstitious thoughts every event, and everything in Nature that is in any degree unusual or abnormal—everything that seems to project, never so little, beyond the dead monotony of natural phenomena. Indeed, his knowledge is so limited, and his imagination so easily inflamed, that he readily creates for himself all sorts of unusual occurrences and phantasms without any foundation. His imagination is most active during the hours of darkness. Like a timid child, he sees terrifying shapes everywhere. The thunder and lightning, the wind, the sun and the moon in their various phenomena, the cries of birds and beasts, and the direction from which they cry, all convey to his uncul-
787 tured mind some omen of good or evil. If the *kowó* (a bird) utters its cry at evening from the east, it means that "white man come;" and if from the west, "Bororó die."

775 Our Bororó friends who crowded about us during the
[123] whole of every day, always withdrew from our hut at sunset, retiring to their village, and we usually saw no more of them until daybreak. But late in the evening on two or three occasions, we heard a tramping of barefooted men approaching

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to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whet-stone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which was eaten without any condiments whatever; a bushel of roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

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despair, totally unfits himself for life's real duties and privileges and shortens his days.

We now began to entertain anxious thoughts as to how we should make land at the second Kogi au Paro village, which was a little below our point of embarkation, where we were to complete our arrangements for descending the river. We seemed to be afloat on a perpetual motion which we were powerless to stop. The edge of the river was lined with dangerous obstructions and we dared not go too near. How, then, were we to run our unwieldy float into the narrow opening in front of the village? But the Hand of Providence guided us as before, and we succeeded in making land without damage. At the last moment, two Bororó, plunging into [123] the water, seized our raft, and pulling with great force, enabled us to get it to shore.

When we had finally made fast to the root of a tree by means of a bark line, Senhor Guveia, who had become thoroughly frightened, sprang ashore, declaring that nothing would induce him to navigate further on such a craft.

Having fried for the seventh time our pot of boiled beef and eaten the last of it with some green corn-cakes, which, after baking in the ashes, had been fried, we further strengthened our raft with bark rope, made another paddle and other arrangements, then continued our novel voyage down the pretty little river. In place of Senhor Guveia, who had decided to return through the forest, we took with us two Bororó who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro village. They were delighted with the prospect of returning home so easily, and by means of such a strange conveyance. The entire Kogi au Paro village came down to the river to gaze at our strange craft and to see us "sail," for this was a most unusual event in their lives; besides, they were more friendly toward us, and not so fearful and exclusive as the upper village.

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Getting our craft once more in motion, we did not meet with any dangers until we were more than half-way home. We were therefore finding our trip very enjoyable. The

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evening; several women, especially those who happened to be carrying on intimate relations with the gentlemen, were distinguished by shirts, jackets, and skirts in large floral prints, but the ones who were more or less clothed were only exceptions for both sexes. The men wore the hip cord and the straw cuff, the women a hip cord or a bark strip with bast band. Both sexes loved neck and chest ornaments. I shall discuss the details later. I gave Moguyokuri a choice piece that he heartily approved of: a brick-red Turkish, wide-sleeved woman's jacket embroidered with colorful arabesques, which had once been used in the Paint-Box masquerade at the Düsseldorf concert hall. In this elegant fancy-dress costume the ever happily smiling giant was a sight for the gods.

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Fig. 126. Bororó girl.

"What shall we do?" complained Captain Serejo in the military colony. "When the large crowd embarked for Cuyabá, 430 suits were provided. Many more were added in Cuyabá. And when the Indians returned, there was nothing left of all that." First, because the merchants had furnished miserable trash, thin, badly woven material that they could not otherwise sell, then because the clothes were too tight and too short, the shirts did not even come together over the broad chests and the unmentionables ripped, but, finally, because the Bororó treated the gifts of civilization with terrible negligence. As soon as they felt inconvenienced, they would toss off the clothing; as soon as they needed a bag, for example, to carry away meat or fish, they would use their blankets and shirts. They wrapped their grease-smeared bodies

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177 291 513 296 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths -- a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 177 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 241 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant! In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in 264 order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 648 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

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177 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of
648 the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

●123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are
[192] sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly
[293] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

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115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
[123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
[145] important elements of the language; they were extremely wide awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/, and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

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[193] I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
115 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent. He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there immediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

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732 Sometimes Dyapokuri gave a performance. The men were far from regarding the feeble-minded one, who could only babble, as a superior creature. He liked to portray the quarreling of the women by launching into the most enraged gestures and vigorously demonstrated the mutual scratching and hair-pulling. He flew into frightful agitation himself, however, when a soldier teased him on account of his setting out to pursue the Kayapó (page 568) and, a stick over his shoulder, hitched along with huge, lunging strides: the poor devil foamed at the mouth with indignation, threw his burning chunk of wood at the mocker, and, since he did not know what else to do, snatched up a few wood chips from the ground and, with a teeth-baring grimace and unintelligible sounds of rage, depicted -- the mustache of the soldier. After a while he calmed down again and, for the funeral ceremony, practiced rattling with two rattle gourds and the rhythmic aróe grunts.

● 123 The hours in the ranchão were instructive and agreeable. There was only one thing that was intolerable, the incessant begging for tobacco. My pipe traveled from one man to another. The men dictated pages of Bororó to me, each one having to present in sentences whatever was going on at the moment, listened to me repeat it, and then laughed, just as gratified [157] as the Bakaïrí. The more intimate we became, the more striking was the agreement in temperament and character with the Kulisehu Indians. On a post in the men's house, after we had taken the anthropological measurements, /490/ my height was also indicated. A piece of charcoal was crushed with the teeth, pulverized with saliva in the hand, and above my head a black ring was painted around the post.

433 Food; "consecration." According to Clemente's report, in spite of all the hunting, the plant food obtained by the women is of the greatest importance, because it comes in more regularly 222 and abundantly. The women look for roots with a pointed stick, climb up the palm trees with great agility, among which preference is given to the oaussú and akurí, gather the nuts, cut the "palm cabbage" in the crown, look for jatobá and pikí fruits, 292 and so forth. The palm nuts are roasted or pounded in a mortar 574 and mixed with water to make a thickish drink, the refreshing

/500 cont./ One day the men permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
●[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "afdye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

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765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
●[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in-between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

[302] Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[301] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems